

The JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

One of the encouraging things to the editors of this journal is the increasing number of articles submitted for publication. These articles represent researches into the social forces operative in the social life of the child. This growing concern about the social world of the student indicates that educators are gradually coming to view the school as the social agency of the community entrusted with the responsibility of adjusting the social behavior of those it serves.

This is a far step from the stereotyped courses of study and syllabi of the past. It indicates that teachers are beginning to realize that such programs, handed from the top down as they are, have little relation to the world of reality of the child and his community. Such programs have established an individual control through authority and denied to those most concerned the right to have a voice in setting the goals of their education. It is small wonder that there has arisen such social distance between the school and its constituency.

The sociological approach represents rational procedures based on factual data. These data used by the school and its clientele to determine democratically the educational needs and how they shall be met represent control arising from the group—or social control. Obviously, this procedure lacks uniformity and may not make for efficiency in reaching *former* goals, but it makes for effective citizenship in a democracy since it involves in every step the use of democratic processes. If this is not the quickest way of solving our problems it is at least the safest. We cannot hope to produce democratic attitudes and behaviors with dictatorial methods.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES AMONG ADOLESCENT BOYS

C. WARD CRAMPTON AND E. DEALTON PARTRIDGE
New Jersey State Teachers College, Montclair

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCE—AN ESTABLISHED FACT

Careful research has indicated the nature and extent of individual differences in physical and mental development during the period of adolescence. It is now known that some young people enter puberty as early as the age of twelve while others do not begin this important stage of their development until they approach the seventeenth year. These individual differences are all the more significant since maturation of the sex glands is closely associated with growth in stature, appearance of hair on the body, and change in voice. This means that boys differ tremendously with respect to the age at which they acquire the characteristics commonly associated with manhood.

While a great deal is known about the physical changes associated with puberty, comparatively few data are available dealing with the problem of individual social adjustment arising out of the divergent individual growth patterns. Indeed, in recent years there has been a tendency to minimize the adjustments demanded of adolescents because no physical basis has been found to justify the conception of this period as one of "storm and stress." A study of physical changes alone during the period of adolescence cannot furnish a basis for understanding behavior of individuals. The dynamic aspects of behavior incidental to growing up are not the physical changes themselves but rather the manner in which the relationships surrounding the individual change as his individual growth pattern evolves.

The data to be presented below will show clearly that many young men do face acute personality adjustments during the period of adolescence. These adjustments arise out of the social situation surrounding the individual and are acute because they sometimes demand a complete change in the conception of self. These data have been selected from hundreds of letters from adolescent boys addressed to Dr. C. Ward Crampton in connection with his department, Keeping Physically Fit, which appears monthly in the magazine *Boy's Life*. A study of these letters indicates that they represent a wide cross section in age, intelligence, and economic status. Just how adequately they represent American boys in general is not known at this time, therefore it cannot definitely be stated that these problems represent all adolescents. It should be noted also that these letters are in response to articles dealing with adolescent problems and so may not be entirely spontaneous.

REACHING FOR MANHOOD

Five conclusions with respect to what these letters show will be presented briefly. The first is with respect to the desire that runs constantly through these letters for boys to want to have a well-developed physique, to be a "man's man" as they express it. There are evidently stereotypes in the minds of young men as to what a mature man should be like. Most interesting of these is the desire to be six feet tall. In American culture there seems to be something very desirable about exceeding the six-foot level. This attitude is expressed concretely in these letters, not once, but over and over again. The following are a few examples.

1. Here is my story. I want to be a *he-man* and to *work hard*. I want to broaden my shoulders, to increase my chest, to gain weight, to be a real husky, and put weight on my bones.

Above all I want to be proud of myself and not ashamed as I am now. I have seen how much you have done for other boys, *please* do this for me.

2. Get the picture, sir. A tall (and not too tall, darn it!) skinny, pimply

boy—just the kind I don't want to be. I'd like to broaden my shoulders, deepen my chest, and develop my leg and stomach muscles.

3. I am a boy of seventeen. I have been sickly most of my life so I am not developed as other boys of my age. I am five feet seven inches tall but I weigh only slightly over one hundred pounds. I am always pale and I've been "razzed" and pushed around since I can remember. I would like to go out on dates and have as much fun as the next person, but my slight build prevents this. A girl will not go with a "shrimp."

From a boy who is five feet, eight and one-half inches tall:

4. I want to broaden my shoulders—I want to increase my chest—*can I grow four more inches?*

CHANGES IN FRIENDLY RELATIONS

The second point of interest arises out of the tendency for relationships that have existed for years among young friends to be suddenly upset because each one develops according to his own pattern. In many cases it means the cessation of a friendship. A boy who has enjoyed equal status with other members of a group finds to his dismay that they are developing more rapidly than he. This is a disturbing experience to him and demands some mental adjustment on his part. The conception he has of himself needs to be altered, unless he can demonstrate his equality in other ways. Observe the following examples of this.

5. I am fourteen years old and weigh ninety-five pounds and measure five feet four inches. A few years ago my pals were the same weight and height as I was but now they are much taller and heavier than I. I eat lots of good food but I don't seem to gain weight or grow much.

It would be swell if you could tell me how to catch up with my friends.

6. I am in a mess. I have a very good friend, and the last year he has completely left me in the way of muscle, that is, he has muscle that stands out, all over him—and he knows it. He thinks he is big and tough. This summer I broke my arm, a simple fracture, but what a break. Well, anyway, he got to camp, while I stayed home and sat and sweat. And you know what camp does to a fellow, it makes him strong and gives him exercise, but speaking of him thinking he is big and tough, I can lick him.

Last year in gym our athletic director lined us up in size, and I was taller than my friend was, and this year he is taller than I am, whether it is because he got more exercise than me this summer, I do not know.

7. I am fifteen and a half years old, weight ninety-six pounds, and am only five feet in height. I still talk in a high pitched, girlish voice. I am several inches shorter than any one in my class—third-year high school.

I have been told that it is just a case of delayed development, but just the same, I am beginning to worry as I show no signs of "sprouting."

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE DIFFERENT

The third group of problems faced by young men during the period of adolescence centers around unfortunate physical characteristics. Pimples, small organs, thin limbs, and many other outward characteristics may cause very acute mental suffering to boys in their teens. Here again these individual characteristics are significant because of the social implications they carry. When the individual feels conspicuous among his associates because of some outward peculiarity, his social adjustment may be most difficult. In some cases he cannot face it and runs away. Such is the case of the following boy who says he ran away and secured a job on a ship because of his pimples.

8. I have been bothered since the last year of high school with pimples and blackheads on my face, and that's what I want to ask you about. I probably could not tell the whole story to a doctor in person, even if I had the opportunity, so I am taking this means to put into effect my determination to suffer no longer, but to do something about it. I made this determination recently, and from now on the one purpose of my life is going to be—get rid of these pimples, and I hope, the inferiority complex which they have given me.

Time and time again I had thought that I had rid myself of them, only to have another bunch of pimples break out. I know you have read the advertisements of yeast in magazines. Very likely some people laugh at the idea of a boy's complexion keeping him from mixing with people, going places, or having a normal life, but every one of those advertisements is a reminder of something I have endured. And it's serious; if I thought that I had to live the rest of my years with my trouble, or even

many more years, I would rather die today. I'm not afraid of death; I am afraid of life handicapped with pimples. . . .

Physical abnormalities are apt to evoke the same type of reaction as that shown above. The following letters illustrate the mental adjustment necessary for young men with some physical peculiarity.

9. I have what is termed a "pigeon breast." I am very sensitive about it, and it has spoiled many good times I might have had. I always have feared to bare my chest when I am with others, and the present popularity of swimming trunks makes me fear the time when I shall have to wear them. I have determined that I will get rid of it before long, and am seeking you for advice on how to do this.

10. I have a disease known as rosacea, or redness of the nose. Besides spoiling my personal appearance it tends to make me self-conscious. I fear that it is the only thing holding me back in life. If I could only be freed from the bonds that hold me back I feel that I would be able to conquer the world singlehanded.

These examples could be extended almost indefinitely. Letters are on file dealing with the problems arising out of size of organs, size of nipples on the breast, hair on the face, texture of the fingernails, skin color, and many other physical characteristics.

SEEKING SEX INFORMATION

It has been known for some time that young people often do not have the proper instruction with respect to sex. What little information they do get comes from poorly informed companions or adults. These letters throw additional interesting light on this problem of sex instruction. These boys show eagerness to know the facts, and do not know where to go to find them. A few examples will be sufficient. These could be extended at some length, and are typical of those received.

11. I'm tired of misinformation from doubtful sources. What is the truth about masturbation? Does it weaken the mind? Does it burn one out in their youth?

12. I have never received any confidential advice even from my grandparents on the care and health of the sexual organs. When I was eleven I fell into the hands of a group of vulgar boys at school. They taught me the vice of masturbation. Being ignorant I was drawn into this. . . .

13. Is it physically or mentally wrong to masturbate. . . ? This is a habit most boys have, as you probably know. It isn't very easy to break especially when they don't know whether or not it is right or wrong. Some guys say sure, some don't know. But I intend to find out from somebody who knows, so that's why I am asking you.

LOOKING FOR A CONFIDANT

One very interesting thing about many of these letters is the evidence presented to indicate that the boys do not feel free to discuss their problems with any one they know. They mention their parents specifically in many cases, stating that they do not feel that their parents would understand. The following examples are typical.

14. You see my father is dead and it would be kind of embarrassing to go to my mother with my problem and as none of my man-folk kin live in this city, I have no one to turn to. I hope you will prescribe something that will help me.

15. I don't want to come to you with a spirit of complaint, but I, as many others, need your help. I am going to tell you things that I have never told my Dad, because I know I can trust you and it is easier to get it off my chest by writing than in direct conversation.

16. I feel this is such an extremely personal and embarrassing subject that I didn't dare ask any one's personal advice—so I am coming to you.

17. I wish you would answer these questions with full frankness. I wish that you would recommend some good frank book on sex which I could ask my folks to get for me. There are many questions regarding sex which I would like to ask them, but they just emphasize the dark side of such matters as if it were a thing to be feared.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is quite evident on the basis of these data that some of the most significant things about growing up are associated with the social implications of growth. Careful research is needed to determine the

nature of these social implications and the way in which they affect the behavior of the individual. It is quite probable that the problems faced by girls as they grow into maturity are quite different from those found in these letters. For example, girls in modern society would not be so anxious to develop muscles and grow tall. Not as many of them would ask for help in putting on weight.

Evidently much of the behavior of young people during the period of adolescence can be traced to problems they face in defining themselves according to how others react to them, or how they think they appear to those about them. Adults who deal with young people can be more skillful if the social implications of individual difference are recognized.

No doubt in many cases the problems of growing boys are accentuated by the nature and administration of the educational program to which they are exposed. For example, the common desire to be six feet tall and possess a body like a Grecian god may be partly the result of the requirements placed upon young people in a physical-education program. Some boys, because of the nature of their inherited characteristics, can never achieve what they have come to feel is an acceptable physique. The more persistently that ideal is kept before them, the more opportunity there is for mental conflict to arise in the minds of those who can never hope to attain it. That this happens in many cases can be seen in the great number of letters received from boys seeking help in this connection. The seriousness of the problem to these boys can be judged by the earnestness with which they write.

It would seem advisable to evaluate the various phases of the school curriculum to determine just what social values are being promoted and how these values operate on the scale of individual difference.

THE CULTURAL LAG IN EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE

DANIEL P. EGINTON

Educational philosophy has changed so extensively that it is easy to point out obsolete textbooks, poor buildings, narrow curricula, inefficient organizations, and unsound policies. How many though are able to indicate the words or phrases which are now as antiquated as the little red schoolhouse? Current literature and speech indicate that there is an urgent need to purge and rid our profession of many words and expressions which have served their usefulness.

In addition to confusing the real issues involved in education, they are now blocking the road of progress and fostering poor work and muddled methods. Some typical examples of undesirable terms still widely used are recitations, subject matter, lesson, teacher training, practice teaching, course of study, study halls, extracurricular activities, inculcate, indoctrinate, instill, lesson plan, and materials of learning.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to explain fully all of the reasons which could be advanced to support the foregoing point of view, but it is basically the widespread understanding and acceptance of the educational philosophy of John Dewey. It is as impossible to express his points of view clearly using the old terms as it would be to develop a new motor and use the parts taken from one built in 1900. Even those who have grasped some of the concepts of the progressive movement fall short of their objectives when they use the hackneyed expressions. Here are a few examples of good ideas which have been poorly expressed. They have been culled from the writings of some very prominent persons.

Stressing the need of developing the scientific temper, Mr. A writes, "Pupils should be trained to observe accurately and significantly." A progressive would object to the word *trained* with its

implications that man can be trained like a monkey, and that the process is largely outside of the student himself.

Dr. B in another article says, "The English laboratory should be used as a means for instilling a love for literature." This is weak because it is obviously farfetched to hope that so much could be accomplished by one agency. All that can be done in the best of English laboratories is to help the student to develop desirable literary interests. Real love of literature is not an adolescent trait.

Professor C believes, "We must give children the truest and most realistic knowledge." Even though it has long been tried, it has never been possible to give children knowledge; we can only provide opportunities for them to gain it. We can no more give knowledge to another than we can give him an arm, or can make a horse drink after we have led him to the trough.

Traditional education holds that education is a process of molding, or of pouring facts into the heads or minds of pupils. Under this conception the major role of the school is to determine arbitrarily what should be taught or transmitted, divide it into ten million separate lessons, assign these like Stalin, hear the students "recite" what they have learned to the tunes called by a loquacious teacher, examine or test the pupils, mark them, and then pass or fail them. The whole process is one imposed from above with little or no attention paid to the capacities, interests, and experiences of the individuals and group concerned. Since the main test of the success of the high-school teacher in New York State is the Regents' record, yet the foregoing point of view is still much more current than many realize.

Education is clearly a rich, creative process of varied activity—purposeful experiences guided to attain sound self-imposed goals. Carlyle spoke wisely when he said, "That man is best educated who touches life at the most places." Since the urges, wants, and experiences of the student are the major springs of action, these must be made the starting point and center of action in the planning of an educational program. The autocratic, domineering methods of yes-

teryear do not harmonize with the ideals of a democratic social system which they must promote if we are to realize the American dream, such as Adams has frequently discussed. Competitive, mass-production methods must be abandoned in favor of those which effectively meet the needs of individuals.

The new school of thought further recognizes that education is not primarily a school responsibility at all; it is a coöperative, community function in which the school, as one of the educational agencies, can do little unless it works closely with all of the other agencies performing educational functions in the community—homes, churches, planning councils, recreational agencies, governmental agencies, social groups, fraternal orders. In a coöperative program it is clearly bad taste to use such terms as I, my, and mine. It is equally bad taste for educators to stress the work and functions of the schools and say so little about the other agencies. This is done largely because we have confused schooling with real education as complete living as Spencer said.

Education is life; man's life is creative, integrated, continuous, complex, in need of direction, motivated largely by emotional drives and urges, and cannot be measured by a rating scale or tested in a test tube.

If the term educational agencies were substituted for *schools*, it would be a long step in the right direction. Where we find, for example, "The school must teach children better manners," a modern version would read as follows: "The school, with the coöperation of the other educational agencies, should help students to develop satisfactory manners."

When a person really understands the nature of the educational process (note I did not say laws of learning) and appreciates the broad implications and applications of education as a means of social control and development, he will try to create expressions that harmonize with his educational principles. He will advisedly strive for clear, fresh expressions and to avoid the old terms which have been previously indicated. Some writers go even so far as not to

use such words as subjects, curriculum, teaching, and assignments. These terms are still used so extensively, however, that it is awkward not to use them occasionally.

If terminology is as significant as has been argued here, and I certainly think it is, it seems fitting to recommend that extensive steps be taken to analyze current educational thought and literature and then to develop a guide or glossary of terms and definitions for those who find it difficult to express their ideas properly. This task is certainly too difficult for any one person to do properly. I shall, however, try to illustrate what might be done by concluding this article with an outline that has been helpful to some of my friends. It is presented as only one step, realizing that it is neither complete nor adequate. I hope, though, it will start something.

| <i>Obsolete</i> | <i>Modern</i> |
|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Materials of learning | "Educational materials" or simply "materials," to include all resources in home, school, and community |
| Course of study | Syllabus, program outline, or some similar term |
| Curriculum building | Educational planning |
| Extracurricular activities | Activities, pupil activities |
| Subject matter | Experiences, activities |
| Lessons | Projects, experiences |
| Lesson plans | Work plans, plans |
| Teacher training | Teacher education or preparation |
| Practice teaching | Student teaching |
| To train | Use only in connection with habits. One, for example, cannot "train" his creative capacities or imagination. |
| To orient the pupil | To help the student to orient himself or herself |
| Receive education | Psychologically impossible. Better say "educated himself" |
| To undergo or pass through an experience | To experience |

Obsolete

Modern

To instill, inculcate, or indoctrinate

Avoid these static terms.

To impart information

Try to use a dynamic expression of "helping students to understand."

Teaching study habits

Helping the individual to develop good work habits

Acquiring skill

Developing skill

Educational growth

Development, growth

Recite, recitation

Report, discuss, group meeting or discussion

Learning process

"Educative process" or any concept broad enough to include the whole being. It is senseless, for instance, to say one learns his lungs.

Textbooks

Books. Point out the need, though, of periodicals, reports, etc.

Improvement of instruction

A common, weak expression. Use a larger concept, "improvement of the work of the teacher in the classroom," if that is what is meant.

Subjects

"Areas of experience" can sometimes be used nicely.

Visual instruction

Audio-visual aids or materials

Examination

"Evaluation" seems to be a better term.

School years

Education is a lifelong and lifelike process.

Imitation

Initiation

Formal discipline

Self-control or social control

Correlation

Integration

Acceleration, retardation

Impossible in a program which meets individual differences

School day

Under the new program this is a twenty-four-hour process.

Pass through a school

Attend a school

Grades

Years of experience

Children

Generally better to say "students," "pupils," "individuals," or "educands" to include adults

THE TEACHER AND DELINQUENCY

From the Mental-Hygiene Point of View¹

DARELL BOYD HARMON

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Psychological literature abounds with studies giving information as to the reasons why children become delinquent. We know that delinquency is both a sociological and a mental-hygiene problem—a problem of both environmental and psychophysiological factors—but use of this knowledge does not seem to show up in our classrooms.

I have been led to wonder whether this failure to use what we know is not the product of our own adult mental hygiene—the product of attitudes we have developed from certain traditions concerning the nature of delinquency, and even traditions concerning mental hygiene itself.

Erroneous social traditions, instilled in some degree in even the best teachers, have brought us remnants of several concepts of delinquency. In an article on Mental Hygiene and Crime published a few years ago, Sheldon Glueck² pointed out three of these traditional concepts which I would like to take the liberty of paraphrasing briefly.

Medieval and early modern times, according to Glueck, contributed the theory “that delinquency is the handiwork of the devil, operating upon the innate depravity of the child.” Educational history, and our imaginations, tell us of the assorted attitudes and punishments developed by teachers and parents to correct the defects of diabolical ingenuity on the child. As unsound as our

¹ Read before the Social Relations Section, Alamo District Meeting, Texas State Teachers Association, March 19, 1938.

² Reprinted in part in Ernest Rutherford Groves and Phyllis Blanchard, *Readings in Mental Hygiene* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1936).

present knowledge shows us this theory to be, we can still find people using corrective practices which grew out of this theory.

Glueck next tells us that early philosophy contributed to law the assumption that each person is an entirely free moral agent, able to exercise free will, and therefore responsible for his acts, since he might voluntarily have avoided doing them. This theory carried with it the belief that the exact amount of social harm done by certain acts could be precisely measured, and punishments could be parceled out to fit precisely the degree of damage done by each offense. In other words, the child was responsible for his delinquencies and should be punished accordingly.

From this school of thought arose another school which took a different point of view regarding children. This latter school said while the mature person might be assumed to have free will and be responsible for his acts, this was not true of children or the extremely insane or feeble-minded. Hence children, insane, and feeble-minded were classified together and special rules of responsibility grew up to take account of their cases.

In spite of our present knowledge, our heritage of tradition still leads us to look on the delinquent as a child of the devil, or responsible for his acts, or in a class with the feeble-minded or insane, and these attitudes have handicapped us in our classroom procedures.

Some traditions in mental hygiene have not helped the situation any. Growing as it did out of study of the insane—the psychopathic—and dealing in most of its literature with problem people it labels “abnormal” or “pathological,” it is not surprising that most people think of mental hygiene as having to do with children who are inherently social misfits. This attitude toward mental hygiene is easily transferred to one of the problems of mental hygiene, the delinquent, with the consequent result that he is classified with the psychopathic, the feeble-minded, the truly pathological.

Mix all these traditions together and the delinquent is in a bad fix. I would like to help clarify the teacher's place in handling most

delinquency by first describing mental hygiene as I believe it should be approached by the teacher.

The teacher is not and should not be concerned with treating the pathological—that is the job of the psychiatrist, the clinical psychologist, and other specialists. By pathological I mean those who by impairment or degeneration of their nervous or glandular systems, or by mental or other deficiencies are unfit for school. These unfit should be eliminated from the school by administrative processes, or, if the impairment is temporary, should be put under the care of school health or psychiatric services for remedial measures.

Mental hygiene in the classroom is positive, not negative, for it is concerned with the development of mature, effective, social personalities, not with therapy and the treatment of pathological conditions.

Just as hygiene refers to the prevention of physical illness by following the laws of health, mental hygiene, to the teacher, should mean the prevention of maladjustment by using educational methods conducive to good mental health. This point of view implies that the teacher's responsibility is to take the material found in each child entrusted to her care, and, through the application of correct principles, develop that material for effective social use. From this approach mental hygiene in the classroom might better be called the psychology of adjustment or adjusting—and to me it is synonymous with a sound psychology of learning.

This concept is not new—it has been expressed in many educational philosophies—but I do believe that most teachers and administrators have missed some of the essential factors in education that are implied in this point of view, even though they have been stated in principle.

First of all, education in a democracy is social development, not molding and pruning; development is a function of the whole child acting as an integrated unit. Just what is meant by development, the whole child, and integration in this statement?

Development means using the psychophysiological processes going on within the growing child to produce certain trends or patterns of behaving that are both socially acceptable and individually satisfying. This entails shifting the point of emphasis in each learning situation away from the personal concepts of the teacher to the actual functioning of the child.

To make this clear let us consider briefly a possible synthesis of some findings and generalizations from recent psychological and physiological research. I believe we know enough about the child now to say safely that no child comes into this world with any preformed or predestined patterns of social behavior. What he does bring with him is certain potentially useful physiological equipment—skeletal and muscular, neural and glandular—the unique organization of which makes it possible for him to perform efficiently and in a personally satisfying way in certain social activities when chance or deliberate education directs him into those activities in a proper manner. Instincts or aptitudes as social concepts predestining the child for exact fields of social activity just do not exist. What he has, then, is the physiological equipment that makes it possible for him to function in a more satisfying way, both personally and socially, in certain activities calling for his unique equipment than he can function in other activities. Along with this equipment he brings certain neural and neural-glandular organizations that determine certain initial minimum patterns of reacting. As his physical growth continues other similar organizations mature to provide additional initial patterns at various times. These initial patterns are of two kinds. One sort determines the first muscular response he will make to certain sensory stimuli. The other sort determines the feelings—pleasant or unpleasant—he will experience because of the effect of the environment on him resulting from his initial muscular responses. These feelings, in turn, determine the final response he will make to adjust to the effects of the environment. The end result of these feelings is the beginning of learning

and determines future behavior in similar situations because the initial sensation now has a meaning.

We can illustrate with an infant experiencing hunger for the first time. (And, parenthetically, it might be stated that the concept of hunger is the social interpretation of what is going on within the child.) The first step setting up physiological activity is the emptiness of the stomach which collapses the stomach's walls. This collapsed state, together with the contact between the walls of the stomach, incites muscular activity in the walls of the stomach, an activity made up of waves of contraction effected by the sympathetic portion of the autonomic nervous system. Interoceptors picking up these waves of activity and receptors incited by other physiological states induced by the activity of the sympathetic system produce an awareness of an unpleasant feeling which in turn sets up random mass somatic responses. Some one in the environment who recognizes the causes of this activity and interprets them in terms of the social concept of hunger, picks up the child and takes him to his mother who puts the child in the proper position for feeding. The contact of the exteroceptors of the lips with the mother's breast now sets up sucking responses and the food received produces the swallowing response and other responses connected with ingestion. The contents of the stomach now separate the stomach walls removing the original stimuli so that the hunger contractions stop. The cessation of these hunger contractions, the activity of digestion incited through the parasympathetic nervous system, and the activity incited through the other receptors involved in the whole pattern of feeding brings awareness of a pleasant feeling thereby stopping the random somatic activity.

This awareness of feeling resulting from sensory stimuli has produced an initial learning, which, in turn, will determine the child's next response to similar stimuli. To him hunger pangs now have meaning—the approach of some one, if he raises a fuss, who will

provide him with the means of quieting these pangs and producing a pleasant feeling again.

Each initial response, with its resulting feeling and response to that feeling, gives meaning in terms of that feeling to the object that stimulated the initial response—and that meaning to the individual determines the response he will give the next time to a similar situation. The variants in each succeeding situation will add further meanings, in terms of feeling, until the individual finally arrives—if those variants are properly controlled—at a meaning that is equivalent to the meaning society assigns to that object or situation. If no control is provided for those variants, then the meaning arrived at is determined by chance and may never approach the meaning society assigns, but remains on an individual or immature level.

Gestalt and depth psychologies have shown us that space and time present continuities in these experiences that must be taken into account—no object or situation stands alone. The individual's whole experience in time and all the elements in range of his senses must be taken into account to determine the how and what—the reason, the meaning he attributes to things—if we would explain his behavior. If the continuity of his developing meanings is broken regarding any object or situation of social usefulness so that he approaches the object or situation with a different meaning for that element from the one society gives for it at his development level, then he cannot react as he is expected to react—some of the elements, to him, have meanings of one maturity, and some of another—he is unorganized, he lacks integration, for the integrated individual is one whose enlargements of meaning have been kept abreast of his organic maturation.

Such a psychological approach to learning implies that we are concerned with the whole child. His physical equipment determines the sensations and feelings he experiences, and these make for his meanings; his mind, for educational purposes at least, is merely his

awareness of the growing meanings of his environment, determined by the engrams gathered and registered by these sensations and feelings. Also, this physical equipment has to be treated as an element of his environment making up his *Gestalt*.

The disturbance of the individual's physiological equilibrium produced by many stimuli and their accompanying feelings results in tensions and these tensions must be reduced through activity. Tension and the tendency toward activity for its reduction make up what we label drives. As the individual's experiences and meanings grow, and experiences overlap as the result of continuity of experience, the individual finds his unique organization of physiological equipment permits more efficient and satisfying reduction of his tensions through some activities than through others. His meanings now organize these drives of his into motives, purposes, sentiments. (From the observer's point of view, we here see aptitudes emerging.)

Any drive, under proper guidance, which permits full tension reduction, can be directed into socially acceptable channels, if that guidance takes into account the experiential and physiological limitations of the individual.

The psychologies from which this crudely developed summary has been derived are the psychologies from which teachers should gain their positive mental hygiene of the classroom. Let us now see what this positive point of view means in our teaching job and our attitude toward delinquency and other behavior problems. First of all, our approach to developing the child has to be the individual child and not the subject matter or curriculum. What is his physiological equipment, what are his drives, what is he striving for, what have been his experiences, what meanings has he given these experiences, what meaning does he assign to each element in the learning situation? Only when we answer these questions fully and carefully before any learning situation, and then use the answers we find to lead the child through the learning situation in a way

satisfying to him—that is, tension reducing—can we be certain he is approaching the end result of an effective social personality, which should be the aim of all education. At no time is it “What does this material or situation mean to the teacher?” but always it should be “What does this mean to the child? How will he react to it? Does it integrate with his other meanings? Will it develop him in the desired direction?” The stress in teaching must be laid upon each child’s equipment and mechanisms, and what things mean to him rather than what they are.

It is obvious that this viewpoint is not inconsistent with much of our subject matter and curricula that have social utility, as some so-called progressives would have us believe, providing that subject matter is presented in terms of each child’s meaning and curricula are organized for developmental continuity consistent with each child’s experience and equipment.

Permit the child to find expression and satisfaction; build each learning experience on the child’s previous experiences; see that each learning situation is related to the child’s meanings for the objects in the situation and that the situation enlarges his meanings in a social direction; make certain each part of his formal education is integrating into a developing whole; keep all the learning experiences within the capacities of the child’s physiological equipment, then you will be using mental hygiene in your classroom.

Now, back to our deviate—the delinquent child. If we rule out the truly pathological, which I said was rare, what do we have left when we speak of the problem child, delinquent or otherwise? We have a child who deviates from the behavior expected as an outcome of a learning situation, whether it is deviation from a long-time situation directed toward developing socially acceptable behavior, or an immediate one by failing on a test. Why does he deviate in behavior from what was planned, whether the expected behavior was good conduct or passing grades? He deviates because the learning situation was not related to his physiological equipment, his needs, his

meanings. In some place these things were left behind in the program for his development. At some point a drive needed an outlet, a tension needed to be reduced, and no way had been provided for this to be done. What then is this deviating behavior? It is merely the way his undeveloped equipment has found to react to certain situations. Some one, teacher or parent, left a gap in his development by presenting learnings in terms of parent's or teacher's meanings, in terms artificial to him, instead of presenting them in terms of the meaning of the child. What then is abnormal or pathological—the child or environment?

The aims of education and of mental hygiene should be the same, the development and training of the individual for effective living in a social environment. Both are concerned in leading the child toward habits and attitudes that make the individual better able to attack his life problems. The child comes to the school as a whole, and it is impossible to separate his intellectual functions from his motives, emotions, and social adjustments. Teachers and schools cannot ignore these facts and shirk their responsibility. They must accept the mental-hygiene viewpoint and free their methods of practices that might cause pupil maldevelopment and maladjustment.

A BOYS' CLUB STUDY: THE GOOD WILL CLUB OF HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

EDWARD J. LESSER

Barnard Junior High School, Hartford, Connecticut

The study of this boys' club was begun in October 1937, for the purpose of determining its value to its members and to the community in the light of recent studies of boys' clubs elsewhere. Among the factors given consideration were the area served by the club; the age, type, nationality, mentality, and some background of the boys in it; the physical, cultural, and vocational programs offered; the ability and performance of the staff; the extent to which the club reached the underprivileged boy; and its effect on delinquency.

The chief sources of information for the study included the club superintendent's annual report, Juvenile Court records, cumulative pupil records at Barnard Junior High School, and club activity data assembled by that school's guidance teachers. Interviews were held with the superintendent and director of the club, the Juvenile Court's chief probation officer, the Superintendent of Public Welfare, others contacted in the procedure of studying records, and forty-three members of the club.

The Good Will Club was organized in 1880 and is located in the tenement district of the city in the same block with the Barnard Junior High School where the investigator is a teacher. The neighborhood is predominantly Italian and the club membership contains thirty-four per cent of that nationality, with about sixteen per cent each of Jewish and Negro. The club is financed by an endowment and by contributions from friends.

Equipment. The 55 by 120 foot building of three floors houses a gymnasium, auditorium, classrooms, shoprooms with tools, recreation rooms with equipment for games, the home of the resident

superintendent, and separate offices for him and his assistant. The whole building, including rooms, stairways, and equipment, appears to be receiving hard usage. The dirt-surfaced playground contains a few swings and is used by boys after school and on Saturdays and by both boys and girls during about five of the warmer months of the year.

Staff. Besides the superintendent, one full-time assistant and nine part-time vocational class instructors, all paid, the club makes use of about fifty boy leaders and counselors who serve without pay. They are divided into four groups with promotions on seniority and service and are allowed some special privileges about the club.

Program. Vocational classes under paid instructors are held on six nights a week for about five and a half months each year. Ten senior group classes meet from once to four times a week and have an enrollment of 197 with an attendance of 65 per cent. They include such activities as poster art, woodwork, printing, music, and Boy Scouts. Eight junior classes have an enrollment of 246 and also encourage hobbies. Out of the purported total membership, these class enrollments constitute about one sixth.

The physical program calls for the use of the gymnasium in shifts of different age groups because of the demand for its facilities. It is quite a popular activity of the club and the only one that interests large numbers of the boys. Tournaments are conducted in the physical department as well as in a variety of game activities. Some parties and social events are likewise sponsored by the club.

Area Served. A map prepared in connection with the enrollment figures shows that eighty-two per cent of the boys in the club attend two public elementary, two public junior high, and one parochial school. A small number of boys come from distances up to five miles. It is estimated that the majority lives within eight tenths of a mile from the club.

Mentality. The investigator found the I. Q. average of 116 boys of the club, who were either at the time or previously enrolled in his

school, to be 98.7. The slight variation of 1.3 from the normal he concluded has no particular significance to this study.

Membership. It would be physically impossible with the present equipment to serve the 2,374 boys the club claims in its membership. Since the adjacent junior high school was shown in the report to have 22 per cent of the entire membership, the investigator assumed it would serve as a cross section for checking purposes. The superintendent's report stated that 521 of its members of April 1937 were enrolled in Barnard but he succeeded in producing names of only 170. Checking these, the writer found only 98 enrolled there; the other 72 being names of boys long since promoted to senior high school, duplications, or, in two cases, deceased. Furthermore, many were beyond the club's age limit for membership. A study of club activities by the guidance teachers of the junior high school disclosed 193 Good Will Club members. At the same ratio throughout the rest of the club membership, it would approximate nine hundred members.

Active Membership. Of 43 ninth-grade members of the club interviewed, the investigator found 20 rarely or never participated, or even attended. Reasons given were interesting: that the club was too crowded, that it was too childish, that it was more fun to "run around with the boys," and that parents refused permission because there is too much gambling and smoking nearby. Those actually attending seemed to do so regularly, taking active part in the program.

The Underprivileged Boy. There is no effort made to reach the underprivileged boy as such. He may join if he knows about the club and cares to come. The club-activity survey in the school and interviews with the boys revealed that many belong to other and more expensive organizations. Therefore, not all of the club's members are underprivileged boys. The superintendent maintained in an interview that "practically all" of the underprivileged boys in Hartford were reached by the Good Will Club. The Superintendent of

Public Welfare of the city estimated that among families on relief in Hartford 2,000 boys were aged eight to sixteen. Furthermore, many boys in families living on very low incomes ought to be included as underprivileged. Since the boys' club membership is probably not over nine hundred and its active membership is considerably less, it can be seen that only a fraction of the city's underprivileged boys are reached. Finally, it was found that 134 boys in the adjacent school had parents on welfare or relief and many others had very poorly paid occupations. There was no correlation between this number and Good Will Club membership, for less than half of them belonged to the club.

The "Joiner." Of the Good Will Club members enrolled in the junior high school nearby, it was found that 80 per cent belonged to other clubs, generally to one or more of the twenty-six school clubs, but frequently to one or more of the thirty-nine clubs outside the school. Of a total of 193 Good Will Club members in the school, 39 belonged only to that club.

Delinquency. It was found that boys in the neighborhood indulge in mild forms of gambling, but that there was no particular connection with the boys' club. However, contradicting the claim of the club superintendent that no boys were members of gangs, a number were found who so designated themselves. Their activities outside were not criminal or delinquent, but were certainly not the most wholesome. Checking with Juvenile Court records, it was found that boys' club members were less frequently delinquent than those of the city as a whole. The section of the city immediately adjacent to the Good Will Club had a slightly higher delinquency rate, however. The boys' club membership included, among other boys, the "perfect" member from the club standpoint who was finally apprehended after forty burglaries during nights after leaving the boys' club.

GENERAL EVALUATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

"The real test of the validity of an institutional program is its success in the performance of its functions."¹ Those boys actively participating, constituting a rather small part of the actual membership of the club, which, in turn, is composed of only a small part of the underprivileged and needy boys in the City of Hartford, the Good Will Club serves well. The contacts made with such boys are good and the direction of their activity seems quite effective. However, a large part of the membership is inactive, or nearly so, and consequently the club overestimates its influence. Neither financial support nor number of participants is a good criterion for estimation of a boys' club.² Even if its effectiveness extended to its entire membership, since so small a share of Hartford's underprivileged boys are members, the Good Will Club falls far short of its director's claim to be reaching all such boys.

A step in the direction of ascertaining its real membership would be for this boys' club to bring its files up to date, not only discarding as inactive the cards of boys beyond sixteen years of age, but those of boys seldom attending. The Good Will Club's claim to over twenty-three hundred members would dwindle below the nine hundred it really has, to the four or five hundred active members it may possibly have. This would not severely tax its staff or equipment, inadequate as the latter may be. To accomplish this, some office assistance would no doubt be necessary—perhaps part time only—but it would be worth the extra cost.

The staff of the Good Will Club would be inadequate for carrying out the most effective program the club's location warrants. However, under present conditions and with the present equipment, the investigator believes the general performance of the staff, including the superintendent, his assistant, and the class and hobby in-

¹Frederic M. Thrasher, "The Boys' Club Study," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, VI, 1 (September 1932), p. 6.

²*Ibid.*, p. 9.

structors, to be as good as can be expected under the circumstances in which they perform.

The equipment of the club, however, is inadequate. Even allowing for rapid deterioration and abuse of the equipment, the facilities are below standard and suffer by comparison with schools, Y.M.C.A.'s, or other boys' clubs. Even the lighting, particularly in the gymnasium and larger rooms, is very poor. The best equipment seemed to be in the vocational classrooms of the club. In justice to the management, everything from the gymnasium to the game tables seemed to be in use.

The program offered should be broadened in scope and reach, and lengthened to a greater number of meetings. It can hardly be assumed that guidance of boys' activities may be suddenly and completely dropped for six and a half months each year.

There is considerable evidence of overlapping of clubs; that is, of boys who belong to different organizations that are attempting to accomplish the same thing. There is real need for a coördinating council of social agencies to remedy this situation.³ The Good Will Club could greatly improve conditions at present by coöperating more with other agencies and by making a definite effort to bring in the boy whose leisure time is not now directed by an agency.

The Good Will Club is restricted in its influence to that scattered group of boys who are active in it. Rather than an extensive program bringing in boys from other towns, an intensive effort on the part of the director and his staff would accomplish more and give the club more importance in its own neighborhood. Remembering the large number of other organizations to which boys in the junior high school often belong should convince every one that the Good Will Club ought not to compete with them. It would do better to concentrate on a small area of the city, actively bringing in the boys really in need of leisure-time direction and thus fulfill the purpose for which it was intended.

³ As recommended in *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, VII, 2 (October 1937), pp. 67-121.

RURAL CONSOLIDATED SCHOOLS AND EDUCATIONAL ABSENTEEISM IN LOUISIANA

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In referring to "absenteeism" one usually thinks of land ownership wherein the one who controls the land and its operation lives at some distance from that land.¹ It is the purpose of this article to show that with the growth and development of the rural consolidated school program in Louisiana a new type of absenteeism has developed.² It is absentee school operation and control. Schools which are unrelated to the homes from which they draw their raw product—the pupils to be educated—have arisen as a substitute for the former institutions.

Louisiana is one of the pioneers in the practice of consolidating rural schools. The program had its beginning when, in 1902 "a cyclone in the parish of Lafayette had destroyed a one-room school building during the school term and in order to avoid loss of time for the children, two public-spirited citizens of the district offered the school board a conveyance free of charge to take the children to a neighboring graded school in the town of Scott. This venture proved so successful from the beginning that the parish board decided not to rebuild the one-room school but to furnish a wagonette and make the transportation permanent."³ School consolidation has grown to such an extent that for the session 1934-1935, 42 per cent of the high-school and 44 per cent of the elementary-school

¹ For a discussion of absenteeism in land ownership and control, see Pitrim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and Charles J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932), I, 371, 385, 405-407, 420, 428.

² For the term absenteeism applied in the sense in which it is used here the author is indebted to Dr. T. Lynn Smith, professor of rural sociology at Louisiana State University.

³ Julius Bernhard Arp, *Rural Education and the Consolidated School* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1920), p. 189.

pupils of the State, outside of the City of New Orleans, were transported to school in buses provided at public expense.⁴

With the development of the consolidated rural schools there has been a removal of these institutions from the influence of the homes and the neighborhoods in which the children, who attend, are reared. While this has been true in a physical sense, it has been even more true in the sense that the institution plays little or no part in the life of the neighborhood or community it is serving other than that of instructing the students who attend the school.

The rural consolidated school is an absentee institution in a physical sense because it is situated at some distance from the neighborhood of the children whom it serves. Often children are transported as much as fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five miles to school. In one case, reported in a recent school survey, a girl in the junior class of a high school stated that she traveled thirty-three miles to and from school each day. In an annual report of a high-school principal to the State Department of Education for Louisiana, one finds the statement that children who live more than fifty miles from each other sit side by side in the classroom.⁵

Frequently the children transported these distances are in the elementary grades, sometimes in the primary department of the school. In a study of representative schools selected from different sections of the State, it was found that the elementary-school children are usually transported greater distances to the school than is characteristic of the high-school group in the same institution.

The schools usually begin their daily work between 8.30 and 8.45 o'clock in the morning. Hence the children who live at a distance from the institution must leave home often before 6.30 in the morning in order to get there for the opening of the daily session. It is not daylight during the winter months until around seven o'clock so the children must start to school each day before daylight and return

⁴Marion B. Smith, *A Sociological Analysis of Rural Education in Louisiana*, a Ph.D. thesis, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1938, p. 30.

⁵*Ibid.*

home after dark. Often the homes of the pupils are not on the direct route of the school buses and the children are required to walk, sometimes long distances, in order to reach the bus line. In the recent study referred to above, cases were found where children in the elementary grades were forced to walk three miles in order to catch a bus at seven o'clock in the morning in which to ride eight miles to school. The same children, on their return from school, arrived at their destination on the bus line about five o'clock in the evening and then had the three miles to walk to reach home. The distance which they walked was traversed in the dark, both in the morning and at night. In one case a boy and three small girls walked two miles from their home to a river where the boy rowed them across in a boat after which they walked another half mile to catch a bus which left at seven o'clock each morning. Those children, all in the elementary grades, were required to leave home not later than 5.30 in the morning and they could not get home before 6.30 at night.

The very distance the school is removed from the homes of the pupils precludes any participation on the part of the parents in school control or operation. Usually these parents have no contact with the teachers and know nothing of what takes place in the school except through the reports of the pupils. Also the teachers know nothing of the home life of the children and usually do not know the parents even by sight. It is doubtful if fifty per cent of the parents ever enter the school building during the course of the school year or ever have a chance to talk over the problems of their children with the teachers.

The rural consolidated schools are frequently located in urban or village centers rather than in rural neighborhoods similar to the one from which the children are transported. Here the children meet and become familiar with a type of life very different from that to which they have been accustomed. For the State of Louisiana, outside of New Orleans, about forty per cent of the high-school and twenty-five per cent of the elementary-school children who are

transported to school from rural areas are taken to urban or village centers which have more than one thousand population.⁹

The high-school and often the elementary-school children as well, who live in a rural vicinity, within from ten to twenty-five miles of a city or town, are transported to the urban locality to attend school. In certain urban centers of the State, more than fifty per cent of the school enrollment is transported from rural localities, often from open-country neighborhoods. Although the school enrollment is made up for the most part of children from rural sections, the school organization is planned for the convenience of the urban students. For example, at noon a period of one hour is usually allowed for lunch. During this time the urban or village pupils go home for their lunch or "dinner," but the rural pupils eat in a lunchroom, cafeteria, or on the school grounds. After eating their lunch there is nothing for the country children to do but to wander up and down the city or village streets until school classes begin again at one o'clock. It is only within recent years that some of these schools have realized the need of providing some way to allow the rural students to take part in extracurricular activities and have established "activity periods" in the daily programs. However, the majority of the school activities, outside of the actual class instruction, are carried on after school hours. Since the buses must leave immediately after the close of school, the bus-riding children are excluded from any afterschool participation. This usually means that the rural children who attend these consolidated schools are deprived of the valuable training to be received from taking a part in athletic contests, dramatic presentations, glee club, orchestra or band activities.

The schools in which the rural students are trained are absentee in aim and purpose. They appear to be interested in preparing pupils for urban life and activities rather than for life in their rural community. Although 77.2 per cent of the total population of the

⁹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

State, outside of New Orleans, is classed as rural, only 5.9 per cent of the high-school enrollment study agriculture, yet more than 25 per cent study foreign languages and 13.3 per cent pursue the commercial course. While only a few schools teach any agriculture, all offer geometry, algebra, and chemistry or physics, and, in most cases, these subjects are required for all students. No provision is made whereby a program of studies is offered to rural students which is different from that provided for the urban pupils. All, rural and urban alike, pursue the same academic subjects, very largely those which have been traditionally required for college entrance. As the colleges in Louisiana are organized to admit all high-school graduates upon the presentation of their diploma the excuse cannot be offered that the colleges dictate to the high schools as to what the subject matter of their curricula shall be.

The effect of this urban spirit in the consolidated rural schools is evident from the replies of the children, in the study made by the author, to the question, "Do you expect to be a farmer or to live on a farm? If not what do you want to do?" The replies of the children show a pronounced decision not to remain in the rural sections, and the intention becomes progressively stronger as the children advance in school; e.g., of the elementary-school pupils above the fourth grade from rural homes in consolidated schools located both in open-country districts and in village or urban centers, 19.6 per cent stated that they expected to remain on the farm; among those of high-school level the percentage was 10.4 per cent; and among the high-school seniors only 6.0 per cent reported that they expected to remain on the farm.

Another condition not infrequently found in the rural consolidated schools located in the open-country districts or in small village settlements is that the schools are staffed by "commuting teachers" who do not live in the neighborhood or community of the school, but dwell or board in some distant village, town, or city, from which they drive to and from their school. Some cases are to be found in

the State where the teachers in rural schools drive as much as fifty miles a day in getting from their place of residence to the school and back. Often the majority of the teaching staff of a school is made up of these commuting teachers.

The qualifications of teachers of Louisiana schools have been raised so that no high-school teachers have less than a baccalaureate degree from an accredited college or university and all new teachers have from twelve to eighteen semester hours of professional training as well, but they are not trained to work for the social advancement of the communities which the schools serve. Commuting teachers can be of no benefit to a community when the only attraction it holds for those teachers is that of a place where a certain amount of labor is required in order to earn a living. Can one be sure that the "little red schoolhouse," poor as it was, may not have been of greater benefit to the community and may not have served the needs of the local populace better than the more highly trained teachers operating in an absentee institution which is located in some urban center or a center under urban influences, and teaching subjects unsuited for training the pupils to live a life in the rural environment?

If it is true today as Withers says, that "There must be a closer connection than ever before between the school and the community,"⁷ then the consolidated schools of Louisiana are failing woefully in meeting this requirement.

Finally, consider the psychosocial effect on the rural children themselves. They have become indoctrinated with the idea that success is an urban term and cannot be found in rural localities. Their ideals have been established which call for life in the city or town. This is especially true of those who reach the high-school level. But the city and town have no place for all of these young people, for they must take care of their own offspring and there is no corresponding attraction offered to urban young people by rural

⁷ William Withers, *Current Social Problems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936), p. xi.

districts. The results are that many of the rural youths can find no opportunities in the cities and towns and they are forced to remain in the communities in which they are reared. That this is true is shown in a study by Judd of the occupations of the graduates of the Mangham, Louisiana, high school between the years 1920 and 1935. He found that 57.4 per cent of the graduates were living in the rural districts in which they were reared, and that 40.3 per cent were either farming or were housekeeping, probably in a rural home.* Also a study by W. A. Anderson and C. P. Loomis shows that "Taking the group as a whole, 80 per cent of all the sons and daughters settled within a radius of 50 miles of the parental home. Sixty-five per cent settled within a radius of 25 miles of the parental home, while 30 per cent locate within 10 miles of the parental home." It also shows that "Among farmers there is a high degree of occupational transmission from parents to sons and daughters. Almost one half of the sons and slightly over one half of the daughters associate themselves with this occupation."

Can it be expected that agriculture and rural life will ever reach the place of honor and respect to which they are entitled so long as the rural children are taught in their own schools to regard their own environment as inferior to that of the urban dweller? On the other hand, can a community become an object which will command pride and respect when it is peopled by those who are living there only because they were prevented from living where they wished to dwell and from living the life they desired?

In summary, we may say that the rural consolidated schools in Louisiana are "absentee" in their location. They are so located that they are not easily accessible to either the children or the patrons of many of the neighborhoods of the State. They are "absentee" in

* Thomas Allen Judd, *An Evaluation of the Mangham High School as Reflected Through Its Graduates*, A.M. thesis (unpublished), Louisiana State University, 1936.

* *Migration Among Sons and Daughters of White Farmers in Wake County, North Carolina*, 1929, Bulletin No. 275, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1929.

their nature and purpose. The schools are so situated that the parents have little or no knowledge of what the school is doing and practically no voice in its management. The teachers usually do not know the parents of the children they teach and often the teachers are commuting to the school each day in order to instruct the pupils in their grades. The aim of the schools seems to be to introduce the pupils into a type of urban life and environment, and to instruct them in the arts which are considered essential to that life.

A PERSONNEL STUDY OF NYA STUDENTS

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The purpose of this study is to evaluate the effectiveness of the Federal-aid program for college students by a study of the personnel of students attending Alabama College who were recipients of such aid. Alabama College is the State-supported college for women. The study, therefore, is limited to women.

From January 1933 to September 1935, this student aid was administered by the Federal Relief Administration. Since September 1935, such aid has been under the direction of the National Youth Administration. For the sake of brevity, the term "NYA" will be used to refer to this Federal-aid program.

At the time the study was begun, students at Alabama College had received Federal aid for six semesters, beginning the second semester of the school year 1933-1934 to and including the first semester of the school year 1936-1937. At present¹ students at Alabama College still receive Federal aid.

Federal aid was granted students at Alabama College for the first time on the basis of ten per cent of the student enrollment as of October 15, 1933. This amounted to 71 scholarships averaging \$15.00 per month. The same number of scholarships was received the year 1934-1935. Beginning with the school year 1935-1936, aid was granted students on the basis of twelve per cent of the student enrollment as of October 15, 1934, which increased the total number of scholarships to 97. The second semester of the year 1935-1936 aid was granted to Alabama College for four additional scholarships, because other colleges in Alabama had not used their full quota. These four scholarships were not continued for the first semester of the year 1936-1937.

¹ January 1938.

From table I, it is clear that the average monthly stipend received by each student was less than the average scholarship stipulated by the Government authorities. The need for aid was so widespread that each student was limited to the smallest sum that she needed to maintain herself. The need for the year 1933-1934 was greatest. More students dropped out of school for financial reasons, but fewer students received aid, because the need was so acute that students generally needed more financial assistance. During this period 280 different students received Federal aid. A number of students received aid for only one semester, others for two or more semesters, and a few received aid each of the six semesters. In order not to give too much weight to the data of any one student, the calculations are based upon data limited to the first semester during which the student received Federal aid, unless otherwise stated.

TABLE I

COLLEGE ENROLLMENT, NUMBER, AND PER CENT OF STUDENTS
RECEIVING NYA AID EACH YEAR

| <i>College Enrollment Date</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Number of Students Receiving NYA Aid</i> | <i>Per Cent of Current Enrollment</i> |
|------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| October 15, 1933 | 717 | 77 | 10.74 |
| October 15, 1934 | 814 | 93 | 11.43 |
| October 15, 1935 | 803 | 109 | 13.57 |
| October 15, 1936 | 802 | 108 | 13.47 |

It was first stipulated that 50 per cent of the funds must be distributed to freshmen or students who at the time were not enrolled in college. After the third semester this requirement was dropped.²

As shown in table II, 65 per cent of the students were freshmen at the time they were first granted NYA aid. Generally, it was the policy to retain students on NYA aid from year to year provided that on the basis of need, scholastic attainment, and character they continued to be eligible. Because of their familiarity with regula-

² Bulletin No. 2633, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Section 8, C; p. 2.

TABLE II

CLASSIFICATION OF STUDENTS AT THE TIME THEY WERE
ASSIGNED NYA AID

| <i>Classification</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Per Cent</i> |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Freshman | 182 | 65.00 |
| Sophomore | 47 | 16.79 |
| Junior | 35 | 12.50 |
| Senior | 16 | 5.71 |
| Totals | 280 | 100.00 |

tions governing this aid and reports necessary, it facilitated the administration of such aid to change the personnel as little as possible. The employer also preferred to retain the student once she was trained for the work.

TABLE III

CLASSIFICATION OF NYA STUDENTS BY YEARS

| <i>Classification</i> | <i>1933-1934</i> | | <i>1934-1935</i> | | <i>1935-1936</i> | | <i>1936-1937</i> | |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Number</i> | <i>Per Cent</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Per Cent</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Per Cent</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Per Cent</i> |
| Freshmen | 40 | 51.95 | 47 | 50.54 | 47 | 43.12 | 48 | 44.44 |
| Sophomores | 17 | 22.08 | 27 | 29.03 | 26 | 23.85 | 33 | 30.56 |
| Juniors | 15 | 19.48 | 13 | 13.98 | 25 | 22.94 | 15 | 13.89 |
| Seniors | 5 | 6.49 | 6 | 6.45 | 11 | 10.09 | 12 | 11.11 |
| Totals | 77 | 100.00 | 93 | 100.00 | 109 | 100.00 | 108 | 100.00 |

Table III indicates the classification of NYA students by years. After the first semester, most of the upperclassmen listed as receiving aid are the same students that received aid the year before classified a year lower. This is not, as it seems, a discrimination against upperclassmen, because part-time work made available through the college is generally not available to freshmen, and loans and scholarships are restricted to juniors and seniors.

No designation was made with regard to geographical location from which students who received Federal aid should be drawn.

Not even was there any regulation limiting a State's quota to students whose homes were within the State. Alabama College has relatively few out-of-State students. Federal funds allotted to students attending Alabama College have been granted to only three students from other States. During this period, students from every one of the 67 counties of the State were enrolled at Alabama College, and a number of students from all but seven of these counties received Federal aid.

Doing part-time work in addition to carrying the regular academic load places an additional strain on the student's physical resources. Not only is more strength and endurance demanded from the student, but the amount of time available for exercise and other recreation is accordingly reduced.

At the beginning of every school year, each student enrolled at Alabama College is given a physical and a medical examination. The student's work in physical education, extracurricular activities, academic load, and part-time employment is assigned with reference to the condition of her health as shown by the results of these examinations. For convenience in classification, health grades are assigned to students on the basis of these examinations.

Every student is required to participate in some form of physical education for each of the four years she is in college; if she completes her work satisfactorily, she is given one credit hour for each semester's work—eight semester hours for the four-year period.

The health ratings used and their general significance are expressed in the following notations which refer especially to the assignment of work in physical education, but also generally are used in granting permission to carry extracurricular activities, more than the average seventeen hours of academic work, or part-time student employment.

Students assigned A health grades may participate unrestrictedly in any physical-education activities.

Students assigned B health grades may participate in any regular physical-education activities except competitive games.

Students assigned C health grades may with specified restrictions participate in tennis, volleyball, tenni-quoits, archery, swimming, and basketball.

Students assigned D health grades may participate only in archery, hiking, and games especially planned for the restricted group.

Students assigned E health grades are assigned to definite required rest periods in the infirmary or corrective activities.

Students assigned F are excused from all physical-education requirements because of physical conditions. This usually is because of permanent disability or chronic ill health.

The health ratings of NYA students compared to the health ratings of dining-room girls and the general student body enrolled at Alabama College the year 1935-1936 are indicated in table IV. The data listed under "student body" are based on the student enrollment of the college year 1935-1936 and do not include dining-room girls and NYA students. The data given on "NYA students" include all students who have received Federal aid beginning with the second semester 1933-1934 to and including the first semester of the year 1936-1937. The data listed under "dining-room girls" are listed for students who worked in the dining room over the same period of time; *i.e.*, from February 1934 to and including January 1937, and each student is counted only once regardless of the number of semesters which she was employed. These groups are compared throughout the study as defined unless otherwise stated.

TABLE IV

HEALTH RATINGS OF NYA STUDENTS, STUDENT BODY, DINING-ROOM GIRLS

| Student Groups | A | | B | | C | | D | | E | | F | | No Grade | | Totals | |
|------------------------|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|----------|----------|--------|----------|
| | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent |
| NYA students | 211 | 75.36 | 25 | 8.93 | 14 | 5.00 | 15 | 5.36 | 2 | .71 | 4 | 1.43 | 9 | 3.21 | 280 | 100 |
| Student body 1935-1936 | 443 | 74.83 | 34 | 5.74 | 46 | 7.77 | 27 | 4.56 | 24 | 4.05 | 13 | 2.20 | 5 | .85 | 592 | 100 |
| Dining-room girls | 120 | 90.23 | 5 | 3.76 | 4 | 3.01 | 3 | 2.25 | 1 | .75 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 | 0.00 | 133 | 100 |

The dining-room girls have the highest percentage of A ratings. Ninety-four per cent have either A or B ratings. Because dining-room work demands greater physical exertion than any other type of part-time student employment available, only physically fit students are selected. The rating of NYA students, 85 per cent A's and B's is generally lower than the rating of the dining-room girls, but exceeds that of the general student body 1935-1936, which is 80 per cent A and B ratings. The work assigned to NYA students generally does not demand as great physical exertion as dining-room work, but it does require more endurance of the student than if she were not doing work in addition to her academic load. The E and F ratings received by NYA students were because of chronic ailments or permanent physical deformities which did not prevent their doing some forms of part-time work, although they were unable to participate in any physical-education activities.

Each student who is a recipient of Federal aid must be able to qualify first of all on the basis of need for such assistance. It is difficult for school and State authorities to determine who is eligible for aid on this basis. Need defined as a "financial status such as to make impossible his attendance at college without aid" is difficult to determine.

It is customary to make inquiry, either oral or written, regarding the income of the family. Such information obviously is of doubtful value since only such references are given as will recommend the applicant. It is difficult to get an accurate estimate of the income of some occupational groups. The income of the farmer who gets much of his family's support directly from the farm is more difficult to ascertain than that of the salaried man or of a merchant whose income is definitely calculated in profits made. An effort was made, therefore, to ascertain the need on the basis of financial obligations. Even after the most careful consideration, it was difficult to determine which students were eligible for aid on the basis of need. There

* Bulletin No. 2633, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Section 8, p. 2, July 3, 1934.

always is danger that those most eligible for aid may be overlooked, and that a number of students receive aid whose parents are financially able to meet their college expenses.

In addition to recommendations and estimated income as means for determining need, factors in family life which generally make larger financial demands upon the breadwinner were investigated. Information regarding such factors was included in a personal data record which is secured from each student as she enrolls at Alabama College regardless of her financial status. The type of occupation parents of students are engaged in should give some indication of their financial status.

TABLE V

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF PARENTS OF NYA STUDENTS, DINING-ROOM GIRLS, AND STUDENT BODY

| Occupational Field | Father | | | | Mother | | | |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------|----------|--------------|----------|-------------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| | NYA Students | | Student Body | | Dining-Room Girls | | NYA Students | |
| | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent |
| Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry | 48 | 17.14 | 91 | 15.37 | 35 | 26.32 | 4 | 1.43 |
| Commercial occupations | 48 | 17.14 | 152 | 25.68 | 24 | 18.05 | 13 | 4.64 |
| Government work | 35 | 12.50 | 81 | 13.68 | 12 | 9.02 | 11 | 3.93 |
| Homemaking and allied occupations | | | | | | | 195 | 69.64 |
| Mechanical occupations—manufacturing | 17 | 6.07 | 50 | 8.45 | 13 | 9.77 | 1 | .36 |
| Professions | 43 | 15.36 | 71 | 11.99 | 16 | 12.03 | 22 | 7.86 |
| Transportation | 11 | 3.93 | 28 | 4.73 | 2 | 1.50 | | |
| Deceased | 43 | 15.36 | 64 | 10.81 | 20 | 15.04 | 27 | 9.64 |
| Unemployed | 8 | 2.86 | 8 | 1.35 | 1 | .75 | 42 | 7.10 |
| Disabled | 3 | 1.07 | | | | | | |
| Not reported | 24 | 8.57 | 47 | 7.94 | 10 | 7.52 | 7 | 2.50 |
| Totals | 280 | 100.00 | 592 | 100.00 | 133 | 100.00 | 280 | 100.00 |

Table V indicates the occupational status of fathers and mothers of NYA students, dining-room girls, and student body. A large percentage of students from each of the three groups comes from

the farm, but the percentage of dining-room girls exceeds considerably that of the other two groups. The percentage of the student body with parents in commercial pursuits exceeds the percentage of the NYA students and dining-room girls. Government work is a rather vague term. For the fathers of dining-room girls and NYA students, it often means Federal relief work. For the fathers of the members of the student body, it means regular governmental employment. The percentage of NYA students representing the professional classes exceeds that of the student body and dining-room girls. A greater percentage of deceased, unemployed, and disabled fathers is listed for NYA students than for dining-room girls and student body.

As usual, there was some confusion in listing the mother's employment. Doubtless, many of those not reporting occupation were homemakers. Adding those not reporting to those listed as homemakers, there is a larger percentage of mothers of NYA students and dining-room girls gainfully employed outside the home. There also is a greater percentage of deceased mothers of NYA students. Children of parents in occupations most affected by the depression have a greater percentage of representatives receiving NYA student aid.

During the depression breadwinners often had dependents in addition to their own children, but the number of children should be a fairly reliable index of need. Table VI gives the number, mean, standard deviation, difference, the probable error of the difference of the three groups of students.

The dining-room girls come from the largest families, the NYA students' families are next largest, and the families of the members of the student body are the smallest. The differences between these families are large enough to be statistically significant.

If parents of students are very young or aged, they presumably would not be as able to provide a college education for their offsprings. In the first case, they may not be financially established; in the latter case, their active income may have ceased. Table VII gives

TABLE VI

CHILDREN IN FAMILIES OF NYA STUDENTS, DINING-ROOM GIRLS,
AND STUDENT BODY

| <i>Student Group</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>S. D.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>P. E. diff.</i> | <i>Diff. P. E. diff.</i> |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| NYA students | 257 | 4.14 | 2.18 | | | |
| Dining-room girls | 127 | 4.48 | 2.02 | .34 | .1516 | 2.24 |
| NYA students | 257 | 4.14 | 2.18 | | | |
| Student body | 551 | 3.93 | 2.27 | .21 | .1127 | 1.86 |
| Dining-room girls | 127 | 4.48 | 2.02 | | | |
| Student body | 551 | 3.93 | 2.27 | .55 | .1375 | 4.00 |

the average age of mother, father, and student of each of the three groups. The average age of the students is practically the same, although the average age of the student body slightly exceeds that of the other two groups. The average age of both father and mother of the NYA students is definitely lower than the average age of the parents of the student body, and that of the dining-room girls' parents is between the two.

TABLE VII

MEAN AGE OF FATHERS AND MOTHERS OF NYA STUDENTS,
DINING-ROOM GIRLS, AND STUDENT BODY

| | <i>NYA Students Average Age</i> | <i>Student Body Average Age</i> | <i>Dining-Room Girls Average Age</i> |
|---------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Mother | 44.96 | 47.19 | 45.97 |
| Father | 49.56 | 52.10 | 50.85 |
| Student | 19.55 | 19.76 | 19.54 |

A government is responsible for the welfare of its citizens regardless of their character. It is quite essential, however, that citizens who receive a higher education at the government's expense be selected on the basis of character as well as on the basis of other desirable traits which they may possess. The requirement that student recipients of Federal aid be of good character is in keeping with the Government's policy that youths attending West Point or Annapolis be exemplary in character.

There is no criterion by which the character and personality of a student applying for Federal aid may be accurately measured. In an effort to secure some evidence of character, written recommendations from three to five references were required from each applicant. These were of little or no worth since clearly no one would request a reference from individuals who might give information unfavorable to the applicant.

Alabama College, as many other institutions of higher learning, gives the Personality Schedule⁴ to all freshmen upon entering. For practical purposes, this gives a fairly reliable index of neurotic tendencies. Scores made on this personality schedule by NYA students, dining-room girls, and by members of the student body of 1935-1936 are given in table VIII. Many students entered late or transferred from other schools, so the number reported varies from that in other tables since this schedule is given only to freshmen the first week of school. The lower scores indicate better adjustment. It is conceivable that poverty as experienced by thousands of people for the first time during the depression would make for nervousness, instability, and neurosis.

TABLE VIII

MEAN SCORE ON PERSONALITY SCHEDULE OF NYA STUDENTS,
DINING-ROOM GIRLS, AND STUDENT BODY 1935-1936

| <i>Student Group</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>S. D.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>P.E.</i> | <i>Diff.</i> |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-------------------|
| | | | | | <i>diff.</i> | <i>P.E. diff.</i> |
| NYA students | 238 | 43.15 | 20.56 | 1.49 | 1.65 | .90 |
| Dining-room girls | 419 | 41.66 | 22.39 | | | |
| NYA students | 238 | 43.15 | 20.56 | .53 | 1.12 | .47 |
| Student body | 543 | 43.68 | 23.35 | | | |
| Dining-room girls | 119 | 41.66 | 22.39 | 2.02 | 1.54 | 1.31 |
| Student body | 543 | 43.68 | 23.35 | | | |

⁴ L. L. Thurstone and Thelma Gwinn Thurstone, *Personality Schedule* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press).

Table VIII gives a summary of the constants for the distributions of personality scores for the three groups. The mean score for the NYA students is 43.15, the mean score for dining-room girls is 41.66, and the mean score for the student body is 43.68. The standard deviations of the three distributions, the difference between the means, and the probable error of these differences, and the ratio between the differences and their probable errors are listed. The difference between the scores of NYA students and dining-room girls is 1.49. The probable error of the difference is 1.65, and the ratio between NYA students and dining-room girls is .90. The difference between the scores of NYA students and the student body is .53. The probable error of the difference is 1.12, and the ratio between NYA students and members of the student body is .47. For the dining-room girls and student body, these are: difference, 2.02; probable error difference, 1.54; and the ratio is 1.31. The comparison indicates that the NYA students and the members of the student body are slightly less well adjusted than the dining-room girls, although the differences are not large enough to warrant any confidence that they may not be due to chance only.

Alabama College students have one of the most effective forms of student government. Weekly, students who have accumulated penalties beyond the limit or have committed a rather serious infringement upon the regulations are called before the Student Council. Table IX lists the number and percentage of each of NYA students 1935-1936, dining-room girls 1935-1936, and of other students attending the year 1935-1936. These offenses vary from being a consistent noise nuisance to stealing or cheating. The NYA students in this respect have the best standing, the dining-room girls next, and the student body not employed the lowest rating. This may be accounted for in some intrinsic character trait, but it may be due to the fact that the time of these students is so occupied that they have not had time to get into mischief. During 1935-1936 six students were asked to withdraw from school because of misde-

meanor. Five were of the student body, one was an NYA student, and there were no dining-room girls.

TABLE IX

STUDENTS CALLED BEFORE STUDENT COUNCIL 1935-1936

| | <i>Number of Students</i> | <i>Number Called Up</i> | <i>Per Cent</i> |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Student body, 1935-1936 | 611 | 89 | 14.566 |
| NYA students, 1935-1936 | 109 | 10 | 9.174 |
| Dining-room girls, 1935-1936 | 102 | 11 | 10.784 |
| Totals | 822 | 110 | 13.382 |

The Federal Government definitely specifies that students receiving aid "shall possess such ability that they can give assurance of doing good scholastic work in their classes and must continue to do good scholastic work while receiving aid."⁵ It clearly was the intention of the Government that this aid should go to young people who, under normal economic conditions, would have gone to college.

The greatest difficulty was met in explaining to parents, high-school principals, and welfare workers that dire need alone was not the criterion upon which this aid was provided. Each year there have been hundreds of applicants for student aid who normally never would have gone to college and who definitely are not able to do college work; yet, because they were destitute, claimed preference in assignment. Although each year a number of students given aid through the NYA program have been dropped because of failure to maintain their academic standing, the results generally have been very satisfactory. Experience has made those assigning the aid both more careful and more capable in making judgments upon available criteria regarding student ability. Each year students selected, on the average, have more ability to do a good grade of scholastic work.

For high-school graduates applying for aid, in order to enter college as freshmen, the academic record made in high school was secured. As a criterion for ability to do college work this measure

⁵ Bulletin No. 9842, National Youth Administration, Section 3, B; p. 2.

proved very unreliable. To aid in judgment on this basis, the college ascertained the size of the graduating class and the approximate rank of the applicant in that class. This added somewhat to the reliability of the estimate of ability to do satisfactory college work. Rarely was there a mental test rating recorded on the applicant's high-school transcript. Very few schools in Alabama have given these tests, especially during the depression.

Upon entering Alabama College, freshmen are given a series of orientation tests. These tests, used in combination with the high-school grades, give a fairly complete record upon which to base judgment of ability to do a high grade of scholastic work.

TABLE X

MEAN INTELLIGENCE SCORES OF NYA STUDENTS, DINING-ROOM GIRLS,
AND STUDENT BODY

| <i>Student Group</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>S. D.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>P.E. diff.</i> | <i>Diff. P.E. diff.</i> |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| NYA students | 260 | 153.35 | 53.34 | | | |
| Dining-room girls | 121 | 126.98 | 47.33 | 26.37 | 3.66 | 7.20 |
| NYA students | 260 | 153.35 | 53.34 | | | |
| Student body | 526 | 143.97 | 53.05 | 9.38 | 2.72 | 3.44 |
| Dining-room girls | 121 | 126.98 | 47.33 | | | |
| Student body | 526 | 143.97 | 53.05 | 16.99 | 3.29 | 5.16 |

Table X gives a comparison of the mean scores on the National Council Intelligence Tests⁶ for the three groups. On this basis, the NYA students are definitely superior to the dining-room girls and exceed as well the members of the student body, although not so much.

Table XI gives the same comparison of the mean English scores,⁷

⁶ American Council on Education, Psychological Examination for College Freshmen, prepared by L. L. Thurstone and Thelma Gwinn Thurstone.

⁷ American Council on Education, The Cooperative Tests, 500 West 116th Street, New York City.

with the NYA students again exceeding both the dining-room girls and the student body.

TABLE XI

MEAN ENGLISH SCORES OF NYA STUDENTS, DINING-ROOM GIRLS,
AND STUDENT BODY

| <i>Student Group</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>S. D.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>P.E. diff.</i> | <i>Diff. P.E. diff.</i> |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| NYA students | 231 | 124.73 | 36.88 | | | |
| Dining-room girls | 110 | 118.59 | 36.60 | 6.14 | 2.87 | 2.14 |
| NYA students | 231 | 124.73 | 36.88 | | | |
| Student body | 490 | 111.80 | 42.00 | 12.93 | 2.08 | 6.22 |
| Dining-room girls | 110 | 118.59 | 36.60 | | | |
| Student body | 490 | 111.80 | 42.00 | 6.79 | 2.67 | 2.54 |

The scores on the intelligence and English tests indicate the ability to do college work, but the final criterion of ability to do work is the actual accomplishment.

TABLE XII

MEAN CREDIT HOURS CARRIED BY NYA STUDENTS, DINING-ROOM GIRLS,
AND STUDENT BODY

| <i>Student Group</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>S. D.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>P.E. diff.</i> | <i>Diff. P.E. diff.</i> |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| NYA students | 272 | 16.33 | 1.64 | | | |
| Dining-room girls | 132 | 17.52 | 1.52 | 1.19 | .1118 | 10.64 |
| NYA students | 272 | 16.33 | 1.64 | | | |
| Student body | 570 | 16.85 | 1.38 | .52 | .0775 | 6.71 |
| Dining-room girls | 132 | 17.52 | 1.52 | | | |
| Student body | 570 | 16.85 | 1.38 | .67 | .0975 | 6.87 |

Table XII indicates the mean academic hours carried by each group. Seventeen hours is the average student load. The dining-room girls on the average carry the largest load, and the NYA students the smallest load.

Table XIII indicates how successful the respective groups are in quality of work done. Alabama College uses the point system in

TABLE XIII

MEAN QUALITY POINT AVERAGES MADE BY NYA STUDENTS,
DINING-ROOM GIRLS, AND STUDENT BODY

| <i>Student Group</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>S. D.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>P.E. diff.</i> | <i>Diff. P.E. diff.</i> |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| NYA students | 271 | 1.4839 | .68 | | | |
| Dining-room girls | 132 | 1.4511 | .63 | .0328 | .0468 | .70 |
| NYA students | 271 | 1.4839 | .68 | | | |
| Student body | 571 | 1.3251 | .69 | .1588 | .0346 | 4.30 |
| Dining-room girls | 132 | 1.4511 | .63 | | | |
| Student body | 571 | 1.3251 | .69 | .1260 | .0424 | 2.97 |

grading A, three quality points; B, two quality points; C, one quality point; and no quality points for ratings below C. Obviously, the number of quality points alone would not tell the story; therefore, the number of quality points was divided by the number of academic hours carried. On this basis, the NYA students make the best record, the dining-room girls a close second, and the student body definitely lower.

SUMMARY

The number of students at Alabama College receiving NYA aid from January 1934 to January 1937 was greater than the number allotted by the Government on the basis of \$15.00 per month for each student. Sixty-five per cent of students assigned NYA aid were freshmen.

Students receiving NYA aid represent all but seven of Alabama's 67 counties. Only three out-of-State students received NYA aid.

NYA students' health ratings were not as good as those of the dining-room girls, but exceeded those of the student body 1935-1936.

Of the three groups, the largest percentage of students whose fathers were unemployed, disabled, or deceased received NYA aid. Also, the largest percentage of students whose fathers were in professional work received aid. Mothers of NYA students more often

were gainfully employed outside the home than were the mothers of the students of the other two groups.

The NYA students come from larger families than the members of the student body 1935-1936, but from smaller families than the dining-room girls. Parents of NYA students are younger than parents of dining-room girls or parents of the student body.

There is no significant difference between the personality scores of the three groups. The NYA students have the best student-council records.

NYA students exceed both the dining-room girls and student body on the National Council Intelligence Tests and on the Cooperative English Test. NYA students exceed the student body, but are exceeded by the dining-room girls in number of academic hours carried. They exceed both the dining-room girls and the student body in the average number of quality points made during the first semester that they were assigned NYA employment.

TRANSITION PROBLEMS OF COLLEGE FRESHMEN AS SEEN BY THE COLLEGE ADMINISTRATOR

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Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pennsylvania

In view of the increasing emphasis that is being placed upon the individualization of the educational process in both school and college, the nature and sources of the problems that confront the student are of utmost concern to those who want to be of most help to him. With this in mind, a study was undertaken four years ago by the Yale Divinity School,¹ in coöperation with several other interested agencies, to determine what the actual transition experiences of young men are and how they meet these experiences as they move from school to college. The experiences of approximately fifteen hundred students from one hundred secondary schools in thirty colleges in the New England and Middle Atlantic areas were studied. More than one hundred cases were investigated intensively through personal interviews on the part of some twenty collaborators in coöperating colleges. The data thus collected are now being thoroughly analyzed and the findings will be published in the near future.

One of the features of the study was the visitation of the coöperating colleges by four graduate students at Yale during the months of January and February 1936. Interviews were held with administrative officials in the respective colleges and data secured by which the responses obtained from students as college freshmen could be checked. The interviewers spent from one to two days on each of the campuses visited and in most cases interviews with college officials were from one-half hour to two hours or more in length.

¹This study was supervised by Hugh Hartshorne, Ph.D., Yale Divinity School, and was actively carried on under the direction of Lincoln B. Hale, whose doctoral dissertation *Functional Patterns in the Transition Experience*, June 1936, is on file in the Yale University Library.

The material thus gathered was made available to the writer, and a portion of these findings constitutes the basis of this report.

From the standpoint of the college administrator, what are the essential difficulties that the student meets in the transition from school to college? Moreover, what are the sources of those problems that cause students to have adjustment difficulties as they move from the secondary school into the college? This was the substance of the query put to deans, registrars, college pastors, faculty counselors, and other personnel officers in the following colleges: Allegheny, Boston, Brown, Bucknell, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Colgate, Columbia, Connecticut State, Cornell, Dartmouth, Drew, Hamilton, Harvard, Lehigh, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Middlebury, University of New Hampshire, Pennsylvania State College, University of Pennsylvania, University of Pittsburgh, Princeton, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Rochester, Rutgers, Temple, Tufts, Union, Ursinus, University of Vermont, and Wesleyan. Interviews were conducted by the free-response method, notes were taken by the interviewers, and the interviews later summarized according to colleges. Hence, while it is impossible from the data to tell how the individual officials within the colleges felt regarding the sources of students' problems in transition, it is possible to get a picture of how college officials generally felt concerning the matter. It was found that responses on this particular item from twenty-five of the thirty colleges were of sufficient clarity to be included in the tabulation. The tabulation, in order of frequency, follows:

| <i>Sources of Difficulty</i> | <i>Number of Colleges in Which Mentioned</i> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Money—too little, or too much | 16 |
| 2. Improper use of new freedom which the college affords | 12 |
| 3. Inadequate methods of study and poor study habits | 10 |
| 4. Sense of irresponsibility occasioned by breaking old ties and loyalties | 9 |
| 5. Inadequate preparation in tool subjects in the second- ary school | 8 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| 6. Differences in method between the secondary school and the college | 7 |
| 7. Health problems | 5 |
| 8. Concern over home conditions | 5 |
| 9. Inability properly to budget time | 4 |
| 10. Necessity for commuting from home to college | 4 |
| 11. Lack of interest in work | 4 |
| 12. Living conditions in the college | 3 |
| 13. Lack of purposive elements | 2 |
| 14. Too many outside activities | 2 |
| 15. Lack of social facility | 2 |

THE FINANCIAL FACTOR

It is of interest to note that, in the judgment of these college administrators, the financial factor plays such an important part in students' problems. Some few students have too much money at their disposal and, as a consequence, their college experience as a whole may suffer. By far the gravest problem, however, is created when there is too little money available. Many students have never realistically considered the money cost of a college education before setting out upon it. Or they may have been told how, in the past, others have gone to college "on a shoestring" and, possessed of an adventurous spirit and an implicit confidence in themselves, they feel that they too can do likewise. They work early and late and try at the same time to have as many experiences associated with college life as they can crowd into their program. The result is frequently disastrous in more ways than one. In fact, many of the other sources of difficulty tabulated above may be connected directly or indirectly with the financial factor. This is especially true of the item of health.

Here is a matter in which both school and college officials, coöperating with the home, can be helpful in guiding youth. What the actual money cost of a college education is should be studied carefully before the student is encouraged to embark upon his college program. This is certainly one of the considerations to be taken into

account in selecting a college. Since the financial factor is such an important one, colleges should also give attention to the problem to see what can be done to provide needed help for students through the downward revision of fees, the establishment of additional funds for scholarship purposes, or in other ways. Further subsidization of college students than is now provided from State and Federal funds might well be considered as another means of providing needed assistance for college youth. In fact, it may well be that the time is not far distant when a program of higher education supported in somewhat the same manner as public secondary education now is will be accepted as a legitimate obligation of democratic government.

PERSONAL FREEDOM IN COLLEGE

To move from the more or less sheltered atmosphere of the average home to the relatively free and rather loosely controlled atmosphere of the average college dormitory, fraternity, or rooming house calls for rare skill in social adjustment. There is little wonder, therefore, that the situation thus created should constitute a source of difficulty, especially for the student who is not adequately prepared to meet it. To be sure, youth must sooner or later expect to be placed upon its own responsibility. If the student is ever to achieve maturity, he must ultimately learn how to use his freedom wisely and to direct his experience intelligently. He must learn to accept responsibility for and take the consequences of his own acts. It is a question, however, as to whether he should be expected to accomplish this all at once and without some guidance.

Here, also, there is need for coöperation between the home, the school, and the college. The student who has learned how to use his freedom at home and at school will not be likely to run wild when he goes away to college. At the same time, the college must not shirk its responsibility. If it is to serve its true function as educator, it must provide a setting in which youth may make its transition in this regard with a minimum degree of difficulty. For the new student,

in particular, the college is in a real sense *in loco parentis*, and without exercising too much authority or control it must seek to guide youth over the critical period of "getting off on the right foot." Freshman camps and freshman weeks may be helpful in this connection, but they are not enough in themselves. It is a task that requires time and sympathetic effort. As one college official observed, "it involves a certain amount of living together." It is of more than passing significance that the college administrators interviewed placed their fingers upon this problem of the proper use of freedom as one of the most serious sources of difficulty in the transition experience of college students.

HOW TO STUDY

The college administrators who were interviewed gave expression to the belief that in many instances students who come from the secondary school have neither learned how to study seriously, nor have they acquired the desire for serious study. This is by no means a new complaint, and, from the viewpoint of the college, there is doubtless some justification for it. It is no secret that in the average high school, where classes are overcrowded and teachers are overburdened, the main objective often seems to be to get as many students graduated as is possible. Moreover, because of the variety of types of students served in the average high school, it frequently happens that the material covered must be somewhat limited in scope, the mastery of which does not call for the same kind of effort or the same amount of concentrated study as college work ordinarily demands.

An illustration of this fact was provided recently in a conversation which the writer had with a student who was having difficulty with his freshman history course. He had come from a large city high school and professed a natural interest in history. He complained, however, that he found it impossible to cover adequately all the material that he was expected to cover in his college course. When

pressed for an explanation, he said that in high school a few pages in the text were assigned daily. He had always found it easy to master this material. But now he was expected to read and assimilate daily from thirty to forty pages in the text in addition to abundant material from other sources. He was bewildered. It seemed like too much of a task, and he found great difficulty in mastering the material in the same way that he had done in high school. It was apparent that he had been trying to master little, and perhaps unimportant, details rather than to grasp the larger and more significant meanings that the teacher was endeavoring to have him see. It called for a different technique than that to which he had been accustomed. He was in need of guidance at this point. This incident is illustrative of the fact that the objectives of the high school are not always the same as are those of the college, and to make the transition to the college point of view is not always as simple for the student as the college teacher often assumes it to be.

While the incident related is indicative of the type of difficulty that may properly be considered under the classification of "study problems," it needs to be realized that the total problem involves a great deal more than the establishment of habits and the development of techniques. As educators have pointed out, and none more clearly than Professor Dewey, there is a direct relationship between effort and interest. Many teachers, in school as well as in college, do not seem to have discovered this.

Nevertheless, if the student has not acquired the study techniques that are considered necessary by the college administrator, it would seem natural to suppose that the college should do something about it. True, there are some instances on record where efforts are being made to provide instruction in study techniques. In so far as these efforts have been successful, general adoption of such methods should be encouraged. Since the development of proper reading habits is so closely tied up with this problem, the recent action of Dartmouth College in employing a full-time person to handle reme-

diable reading problems of students may be a step that colleges in general might do well to consider. Other proposals have been suggested which seem to have merit, as, for instance, a summer school which a particular college, or group of colleges, might provide for prospective college students where they would receive such instruction in the approach to college work as would tend to make their freshman experience less difficult.

SENSE OF IRRESPONSIBILITY

It is common knowledge that the loyalties which persons develop in social groups are stabilizing influences which affect their total experience. The student who goes to college moves from a social setting in which strong ties of loyalty to the standards and ideals of the home, the school, and, in some degree, to the church have been engendered. Since he is in that stage of personal development when many of the standards that controlled him have been tacitly called into question, the fact that he is in a new setting where similar forces are at work gives him an opportunity to throw off the feeling of restraint that has at times irked him. Ultimately new loyalties will be developed in the college situation, which, though different, may be just as controlling as were his previous ties. In the process, however, there is for many students an era of seeming irresponsibility that provides pleasing sensations but may also lead to disastrous consequences so far as total adjustment to the college experience is concerned.

The new student soon discovers that there is no one who checks closely upon his personal behavior or his social relations. He finds that, within certain general limitations, he may sleep early or late, that he may eat if and when he chooses, that he may drink or dance almost at will. To state the matter simply, "the lid is off," and unless strong inner controls have been established, this period of transition is not always pleasing to behold. The college administrator who is wise enough to recognize the seriousness of the problem and will

undertake sympathetically and constructively to find a solution can render a real service at this point. For many students, what is needed is help in building up such new loyalties as will be effective in the new situation. The freshman dean, the college pastor, or other personnel officer by whatever title he may be known has a responsibility in this connection that cannot be avoided.

INADEQUATE PREPARATION

It has for long been a common complaint in the colleges that students who come from the secondary schools are not adequately prepared in the tool subjects. Inability to express themselves with facility in simple and correct English, poor language background, and inadequate preparation in the fundamentals of mathematics are among the specific criticisms that are almost universally voiced on our college campuses. Although fifth on the list of sources of difficulty indicated by the college administrators interviewed in connection with the study here reported, many of the more academically minded classroom professors would be inclined to place this at the top of the list. If it is granted that in some instances this criticism of the secondary school is justified, it should be pointed out that the reason for the condition is in all probability due, in larger measure, to the practical situation in which the public high school especially finds itself. Reference has already been made to this situation in a previous section.

If the condition is one that the secondary school cannot correct, then the college must face the matter realistically. Either it must seek to make up for the preparation that is lacking within the college situation itself or else it must refuse admission to students unless they demonstrate to the satisfaction of the college authorities that they are able to carry successfully the work that the college requires. It may be that the advocates of the junior college as a kind of transitional school between the secondary school and the higher institution have sensed the need and found one solution to the problem.

OTHER SOURCES OF DIFFICULTY

That differences in method between the secondary school and the college should have been indicated as a source of difficulty for some students is readily understood. Growth in maturity presupposes adjustment to that which is new. As stated elsewhere in this article, the college administrator who wants to be helpful to the individual student must find a way to assist him in bridging the gap between past and present experience so that unnecessary difficulties may be avoided.

The same thing may be said of the other items that are enumerated in the foregoing table, and of still others that might be listed. The fact that college administrators are aware of the nature and sources of the difficulties that students face is an encouraging sign. The growing number of institutions in which psychiatrists and other trained personal counselors are being engaged to help students make a more satisfactory job of their college experience indicates commendable progress. The hard-boiled attitude that college is a place where youth must sink or swim is fortunately fast going into the discard. And, although its passing may be mourned by those to whom rigid discipline and character growth were synonymous, it is not unlikely that sympathetic and understanding treatment based upon knowledge of the facts will produce even more fruitful results.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mind in Transition: Patterns, Conflicts and Changes in the Evolution of the Mind, by JOSEPH K. HART. New York: Covici Friede, 1938, 404 pages.

In Part One, Patterned Mind, the author attempts to analyze the succession of mind-sets, as they might be called, which have characterized the human race from the beginning of time to the Renaissance. The effects of these, he insists, have been to fetter the mind of the masses until the scientific advances of the nineteenth century pointed the way to a genuine rule of reason and, therefore, to "a more powerful and a better patterning." In Part Two, The Search for Free Mind, the author concerns himself with the nature and steps in this struggle of the mind to free itself from the older patterns, devoting half the book to this phase of his subject. He generalizes very broadly on the progress, or lack of it, in the centuries preceding the advent of Darwin. In his treatment of the historical problem involved he focuses his attention upon the community rather than upon the individual and attempts to discover the particular pattern or mold characteristic of the time. His chapter headings are indicative of some of these; e.g., Group Patterning, for the prehistoric period; The Oriental Despotism; The Greek Community; Academic Mind; World Empire and Imperial Mind; Patterns of the Church; etc. His interest is in the relation between the pattern itself and what lies outside of it. He protests the common attitude of regarding what is in the pattern as "valid" and what is outside as "alien" or x "immoral." Eight of the sixteen chapters in Part Two are devoted to an analysis of the American pattern of mind and its bearing on democracy. The salvation of society is dependent upon its recognition and acceptance of "*the culture of science*—the mind, the methods, the spiritual, and social meanings of science." (p. vii.)

The History of Social Philosophy, by CHARLES A. ELLWOOD. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938, 553 pages.

The current heated discussions of the social sciences, social philosophy, and sociology are marked evidence of the fact that the youngest of the sciences, sociology, is coming into its own and that we are upon the eve of a new era in social thinking, in social advance in the social sciences and particularly in sociology, which will not only take its place along

with other sciences, but will exert a wide influence upon social reform and in determining national policy. Sociology, which for a long time has rested in the seats of the armchair philosophers, is rapidly changing its techniques and is becoming what it must be, scientific in spirit and method, if it is to exert its proper influence in social thinking and as a tool of social policy.

Professor Ellwood, by his wisdom and clear insight, has for a number of years in his profound works prepared the way for this development. He has been one of the most prolific of sociological writers and perhaps the most useful of the sociologists in laying the groundwork for the development of sociology as a science. His contributions have not been, fortunately, in specific researches. He has been a thorn in the side of those engaged in specific researches, and by his insistence upon fundamental considerations has kept those engaged in specific research upon an even keel, for it is only in so far as the hundreds of individual studies are interpreted in terms of a sound social philosophy that they have significance.

It is, moreover, from this point of view that Ellwood's most recent work, and one of his greatest, has significance. He has encompassed in one volume twenty-two hundred years of the development of social thought, in a manner which is unified, fascinating, and profound. To my mind this book is not only the author's greatest work, but it includes the basic material necessary for every student of the social sciences. It is equally necessary for the educator who hopes to understand a social approach to the study of the problems of education.

Neighborhood, My Story of Greenwich House, by MARY KINGSBURY SIMKHOVITCH. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1938, 301 pages.

This book will take its place beside such other master descriptions of settlement houses as Jane Addams's *Twenty Years at Hull House* and *The Second Twenty Years*, and Lillian Wald's *The House on Henry Street* and *Windows on Henry Street*. Delightfully entertaining and whimsically human, it portrays the hopes and disappointments, the failures and achievements of the author and of her co-workers.

It is autobiography, but one through which the author has portrayed more than herself. Her early years of work in Rivington Street on the East Side and her long years of identification with Greenwich House are woven into the thread of her own aspirations and experience. The

reader lives with the author through the gunfire of a gang war, the ceaseless service to the sick during the influenza epidemic of 1918, the tireless visits to relieve the suffering of the denizens of the man-made cliff dwellings of dumbbell tenements and railroad flats, and sits with her in the large family of her workers or among the conglomerate group of children and adults who find, in the rooms of Greenwich House, a moment's respite from the squalor of their own homes.

As one closes the book, something of the fine philosophy of the author has become one's own: "If I, too, have learned anything throughout these many years, it is surely this, that it is our common life that matters, and that to stay apart from it is the death of art, of politics, and of religion."

Slums of New York, by HARRY M. SHULMAN. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1938, 394 pages.

This study is based upon an analysis of 779 family case records in four New York City blocks. It is, however, more than a compilation of "cases"; it is a human and realistic portrayal of life in slum areas. The fact that the study is a comparison of the same blocks during a year of prosperity, 1926, and again during two years of depression, 1931-1932, makes possible an analysis of trends comparable to that of the Lynds study of Middletown over the ten-year period. There is none of the emotional appeal which has so often characterized books on slum areas. Every statement is accompanied by supporting data. This book should be read by every one interested in realistically facing one of America's great social problems.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Sex and Personality, by LEWIS M. TERMAN and CATHERINE COX MILES. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Study of Man, by RALPH LINTON. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company.

Substitute Parents, by MARY BUELL SAYLES. New York: Commonwealth Fund.

Tenements of Chicago, by EDITH ABBOTT. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Untying Apron Strings, by HELEN GIBSON HOGUE. Chicago: Character Associates.

Youth Serves the Community, by PAUL R. HANNA. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company.

